A

LETTER

FROM CERTAIN

Gentlemen of the Council at BENGAL,

TO THE HONOURABLE

The SECRET COMMITTEE

For Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

CONTAINING

REASONS againſt the REVOLUTION in Favour of MEIR COSSIM ALY CHAN; which was brought about by Governor VANSITTART, ſoon after his Arrival in that Province.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letter is publiſhed to enable the Proprietors of India Stock to judge of the primary cauſe of the preſent commotions in Bengal, and of the true motives for depoſing Jaffier Aly Cawn.

LIBRARY SETS

The friends of the Gentleman who accompliſhed that revolution have handed about an apology for ſo extraordinary a ſtep: It cannot then be deemed improper to make public the reaſons on the other ſide.

If names ought to have any weight in determining queſtions of this kind, there are two ſubjoined to the preſent Letter, thoſe of Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, which have a Title to command the higheſt veneration from every lover of his country. Both of theſe Officers have performed actions which might vie with the moſt brilliant of antiquity.

OCT 10 1940

Nevertheleſs, it is with equal juſtice acknowledged, that after the ſtroke was ſtruck, ſome gentlemen approved of what had been done, who bear the faireſt and moſt amiable characters.

Zambroni

But though the wiſeſt and the beſt may ſometimes differ in points of ſo intereſting a nature, yet it is from facts and arguments alone that the impartial ought to decide.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

The SECRET COMMITTEE

For Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

Copy.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. IT gives us the greateſt concern to be obliged to addreſs you, in the manner we are now under the neceſſity of doing; but as we have publicly declared our diſſent from the late revolution in the kingdom of Bengal, and expreſſed our entire diſapprobation of the meaſures purſued conſequent thereto; it is our duty to acquaint you with our reaſons for having differed in opinion from the gentlemen who were acceſſory to that revolution, leſt ill-minded people ſhould repreſent our oppoſition as a faction, inſtead of owing its riſe, as it really does, to our ſtrict regard to what we think conducive to the honour of our country, and the intereſts of our employers. Had the whole Board been conſulted, we dare aſſert, this meaſure would have been rejected by the majority; and we humbly refer to you, whether the opinion of every member thereof ought not to have been taken by the preſident, before he ventured upon ſo bold a ſtep as the ſubverſion of a government.

2. You were informed, laſt year, of the ſurpriſing revolution in favour of Mir Mohammed Coſſim Aly Chan, which would neceſſarily be repreſented in the moſt favourable light, by the gentlemen who promoted it. But whatever judgment you may have been led to entertain of the meaſure, from their account of it, we cannot but think you will judge as ill of it as we do, when you are truly informed of the circumſtances with which it was attended, the manner in which it was executed, and the ſteps that have been ſince taken to ſupport it: Of theſe we will give you as ſuccinct an account as poſſible.

3. At a time, when there was not the leaſt appearance of a rupture or diſguſt between us and the Nabob Jaffier Aly Chan; on the contrary, a friendſhip and harmony ſubſiſted; Mir Coſſim Chan, his ſon-in-law, came down to Calcutta, on ſome pretence or other, to viſit Mr. Vanſittart; and having ſtaid a ſhort time, he returned to Morſhedabad. A few days after Mir Coſſim's departure, Mr. Vanſittart went up to Morſhedabad, on the pretence of a viſit to the Nabob. Colonel Caillaud, with a party of two hundred Europeans and ſome Seapoys, attended him; who, to remove the ſuſpicion which ſuch a force would have neceſſarily occaſioned, it was pretended were going up to Patna, to reinforce the army there. When Mr. Vanſittart arrived at Moradbaug, the Nabob paid him two viſits, at the laſt of which Mr. Vanſittart, without any previous notice of his intentions, gave him the three letters, mentioned in conſultation of the 10th of November, 1760; of which copies have been tranſmitted you. The abruptneſs with which theſe letters were preſented him, one cloſe upon the other, and the unexpected propoſals contained in them, terrified the Nabob; and he was entirely at a loſs how to act, but deſired time to conſider on what was to be done. Mr. Vanſittart, ſeeing his perplexity, ſtrongly inſiſted on his imme-

diately naming ſome perſon, from among his relations, to take charge of the Subaſhip; and very particularly recommended Coſſim Aly Chan, who was ſent for, and the Nabob was deſired to ſtay till he came; but Coſſim Aly Chan delayed ſo long, and the Nabob was in ſuch anxiety of mind, and ſo deſirous to be releaſed from the viſit, being greatly fatigued, that Mr. Vanſittart was obliged, in order to ſave appearances, to ſuffer his departure to the palace, after having detained him much longer than his inclination. That night and the day following paſſed in concerting meaſures with Coſſim Aly Chan, how to put in execution the plan before agreed on in Calcutta; *a treaty having been ſigned for this purpoſe, in September, 1760, while Coſſim Aly Chan was down here.* In conſequence of theſe deliberations, our troops clandeſtinely croſſed the river, the next night, under Colonel Caillaud, and being joined by Coſſim Aly Chan and his party, ſurrounded the Nabob's palace. A letter from Mr. Vanſittart was ſent in to the Nabob, demanding his immediate compliance with what had been propoſed to him; to which the Nabob returned for anſwer, "That ſuch uſage was what he never "expected from the Engliſh; that whilſt a force was at his gates, "he would enter into no terms; and that it was his deſire our "troops might be returned to Moradbaug." A meſſage was then ſent, informing the Nabob, that if he did not directly comply, they ſhould be obliged to ſtorm the palace. Aſtoniſhed and terrified by this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, "That he was be-"trayed; that the Engliſh were guilty of perjury and breach of "faith; that he perceived their deſigns againſt his government; "that he had friends enough to hazard at leaſt one battle in his de-"fence; but although no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the "Engliſh, yet as he had ſworn to be their faithful friend, he would "never ſwerve from his engagement, and rather ſuffer death than "draw his ſword againſt them." So ſuſpicious was he of being

ſold, that, " He deſired to know what ſum of money Coſſim Aly
" Chan was to give for the Subaſhip, and he would give half as
" much more to be continued: he hoped, however, if they intended
" to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his
" ſon-in-law, from whom he feared the worſt, but rather wiſhed
" they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of
" ſafety in Calcutta." This laſt requeſt of the Nabob's, the effect of his fear and deſpair, was immediately laid hold of, and conſtrued in the light of a voluntary reſignation. Accordingly, our troops took poſſeſſion of the palace; Mir Coſſim Chan was raiſed to the Muſnud; and the old Nabob was hurried into a boat, with a few of his women and neceſſaries, and ſent away to Calcutta, in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had ſo lately held; as is alſo the ſcanty ſubſiſtence allowed him here by his ſucceſſor.

4. Thus was Jaffier Ali Chan depoſed, in breach of a treaty founded upon the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith. A prince of whoſe friendſhip and attachment you have had many ſignal proofs; in whoſe cauſe our arms have, with much honour, been employed; and by a firm adherence to whom, the Engliſh had acquired, throughout the whole country, ſo univerſal a character of fidelity and conſtancy, that the moſt perfect confidence was placed by the natives in them.

5. The advantages to be reaped by the Company, from the revolution, were, the grant of the Zamindarries of Burduan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong; the payment of the balance due from Nabob Jaffier Aly Chan; with a preſent of five laack of rupees from Coſſim Aly Chan, towards defraying the expences of the war againſt the French, on the coaſt of Coromandel. Of theſe, Mr. Vanſittart, on his return to Calcutta, acquainted the Board; and, at the ſame time, in

juſtifi-

juſtification of his proceedings, laid before them a memorial; copies of which were tranſmitted to you, by the ſhips of the laſt ſeaſon.

6. This memorial is introduced with a liſt of crimes laid to Jaffier Aly Chan's charge; which, to thoſe unacquainted with the Eaſtern governments, will appear deſerving of the higheſt reſentment from a civilized nation. Yet ſuch is the ſtate of politics in every Aſiatic court, that, through the apprehenſions of the ſovereign, and the intrigues and artifices of the great men about him, inſtances of cruelty and oppreſſion are but too frequent; and even the moſt beloved among them are too much to be taxed with committing, or at leaſt conniving at, acts of violence; but it ſhould be conſidered, that many of theſe are done by perſons in power, without their knowledge; and that, as there are no regular puniſhments for criminals of ſtation, and who may be ſo powerful that it would be dangerous proceeding openly againſt them, recourſe is often had to the dagger or poiſon to puniſh the guilty. This was the caſe in moſt of the inſtances alledged againſt Jaffier Aly Chan; none of which ſhew greater proofs of cruelty, than that which Coſſim Aly Chan diſcovered when, being in poſſeſſion of the palace, he was deſirous of making the firſt act of his power the aſſaſſination of Jaffier Aly Chan therein, and was very much diſpleaſed, when he found we intended to give him protection at Calcutta. Since his acceſſion to the Subadorie, we could produce to you numberleſs inſtances of his extortions and cruelties, but that it would run us into an exorbitant length; and he ſeems to have made the more immediate objects of his ill uſage, thoſe who have been the moſt avowed friends of the Engliſh. We ſhall only particulariſe Ramnarain, whom he diſpoſſeſſed of the Naibſhip of Patna, in which it was always thought ſound policy in us to ſupport him, on account of his approved faith; and he now keeps him in irons, till he has been fleeced to the

utmoſt,

utmoſt, when there is no doubt he will be diſpatched. Moſt, if not all thoſe who eſpouſed the Engliſh intereſt, have been laid under the heavieſt contributions, and many have died under the force of torture, to exact money from them; others have been either baſely murthered, or (which is a common practice among Gentoos) unable to ſurvive the loſs of honour, have made away with themſelves.

7. It is inſinuated in the memorial, that the Nabob's avarice and cruelty had made him the deteſtation of all good men, and that he was in the hands of bad miniſters, under whoſe mal-adminiſtration the country was greatly oppreſſed: as an inſtance whereof, the ſcarcity of grain in the city is produced. To theſe miniſters are aſcribed the great difficulties the Nabob laboured under, for want of money to anſwer the expences of the government, and to pay the army, rendered mutinous for want of their arrears; beſides which inteſtine danger, the provinces were threatened with an invaſion by the Shahzadah with a powerful army, and ſeveral of the Rajahs and Zamyindars, were on the point of revolting, to encounter all which there was nothing but a diſaffected army. Mr. Vanſittart appeals to every by-ſtander for the truth of theſe facts, and of the imminent peril to which the country was expoſed; he declares his intentions were only to remove the bad miniſters, for which purpoſe he carried up with him the party of Europeans and Seapoys. He proceeds to ſet forth the manner in which the old Nabob was removed from the government, and Coſſim Aly Chan raiſed. He ſays, People in general were pleaſed with the revolution; and makes a merit of its being effected without the leaſt diſturbance in the city, or a drop of blood ſpilt. He concludes with repreſenting the anxiety the Nabob expreſſed to get from the city, through fear of Coſſim Aly Chan; and obſerves, that he appeared pretty eaſy and reconciled to the loſs of his power, which he owned to be rather a burden than a plea-

ſure,

ſure, and too much for his abilities to manage ſince the death of his ſon; and that the enjoyment of the reſt of his days in ſecurity, under the Engliſh protection, ſeemed to be the chief object of his wiſhes.

8. It is very natural for any perſon who takes an uncommon ſtep, to endeavour to vindicate himſelf by the moſt ſpecious arguments, and the moſt plauſible reaſoning he can deviſe; and nothing leſs could be expected from Mr. Vanſittart, after having brought about ſo unprecedented a revolution. He has told his ſtory with all the aggravations the nature of it would admit: notwithſtanding which, we do not imagine the reaſons he has given in ſupport of ſo violent a meaſure will prove ſatisfactory to the world. He takes great pains to blacken Mir Jaffier's character, in order to prejudice men's minds againſt him; and lays great ſtreſs upon the ſcarcity of grain in the city; but we apprehend Mr. Vanſittart does not judge ſo harſhly from that circumſtance, after what he himſelf experienced laſt year; for notwithſtanding all the care, we are not to doubt, he has taken, grain was never known ſo ſcarce in Calcutta before, inſomuch that numbers daily periſhed.

9. Want of money was the great difficulty the Nabob laboured under; but this did not proceed from any fault of his, but from the diſtracted ſtate in which the country had been ever ſince Colonel Clive's departure; ſo that a very ſmall part of the revenues came into his treaſury. The Burdwan and Nuddea countries were aſſigned over to the Company for the payment of the Nabob's debt. Midnapoor, the frontier to the ſouth-weſt, was overrun by the Marattas; Beerboon, and other Zamindaries, with the province of Purea, under Kuddum Huſſein Chan, were affected towards the Shahzadah, who had under contribution the whole province of

Bahar,

Bahar, except the city of Patna and a ſmall diſtrict around it. Chittagong, the eaſtern barrier, did little more than defend itſelf againſt the incurſions of the Muggs, inhabitants of Aracan, who uſed every year to come into Bengal for plunder. There remained only the Dacca province, the diſtricts round Morſhedabad, the Radſhy and Dinagepoor countries, to ſupply the immenſe expence of the war. And here lay the Nabob's diſtreſs, that with one fourth part, if ſo much, of the accuſtomed revenues, he was obliged to maintain an army greater than any Nabob did before him: and the Engliſh army was not the leaſt conſiderable part of the burthen; for truſting moſt to them, he paid them firſt; which preference was the cauſe of diſcontent to the country troops. And tho' the force we had in the field, againſt an enemy whom Colonel Clive had, but a very ſhort time before, drove out of the country, far exceeded thoſe the Colonel had with him, yet no material advantage was gained over them, but the country was overrun and ravaged by them, and by frequent marches and counter-marches, our own armies became as deſtructive as thoſe of the invaders. No wonder then at the perilous condition to which Mir Jaffier was reduced; to extricate him from which, it behoved us to exert our utmoſt abilities; inſtead whereof, he was treated with the greateſt indignity by us, and baſely turned out of his government.

10. To remove bad Counſellors from a Prince is certainly meritorious; but it does not ſeem to us that any thing was ever deſigned againſt the Nabob's miniſters; on the contrary, that the ſole intent was to diſplace the Nabob himſelf, is pretty evident, by the treaty before-mentioned, made in Calcutta. Had there been the leaſt attempt to convince him in a friendly manner of any errors in his adminiſtration, or of the neceſſity of diſmiſſing from his preſence thoſe who ill-adviſed him, it is not to be doubted that he would have

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hearkned to reaſon. That he was not obſtinate againſt good advice, may be concluded from the extraordinary influence which Colonel Clive had over him; in proof whereof, we need only call to mind how violently he was incenſed againſt Rajah Ram Narrain, and Roy Dulub; yet the Colonel, by gentle methods, without having recourſe to any other force than that of perſuaſion, perfectly reconciled him to the former, and obtained his permiſſion for the latter to reſide at Calcutta, and bring thither with him his family and effects.

11. The people in general, very far from being pleaſed with the revolution, (as alleged in the memorial) were extremely diſſatisfied thereat. Had Coſſim Aly Chan been before in eſteem among them, or poſſeſſed any ſhare of influence or power, they might perhaps have overlooked the circumſtance of his riſe, and a ſeries of popular actions might in time have reconciled them to the uſurpation. But he was deſpiſed and diſliked before he came to the Muſnud, and his behaviour ſince has been ſo oppreſſive and tyrannical, that it could not fail confirming the public hatred of him.

12. The little diſturbance at Morſhedabad upon the occaſion, proceeded from the apprehenſions all degrees of people were under from ſo large a force being brought into the city in the dead of night; and Mir Jaffier, noways ſuſpicious of the faith of the Engliſh, had taken no precautions for his own ſecurity. Such is the ſuperiority of our arms, and ſo great the dread of our forces in this country, that had we gone openly to work, we ſhould have met with little or no difficulty; which renders our having proceeded by ſtealth and treachery the more inexcuſable: and we are truly ſorry to have occaſion to obſerve, that the means by which this meaſure was brought about have thrown an indelible ſtain upon our national

character, and injured us as much in the opinion of the natives, as it has of all the European colonies in this part of the world.

13. It is asserted in the memorial, that Mir Jaffier was easy under the loss of his power, which he is said to have owned to have been rather a burthen to him: but it is evident, on the contrary, from his declarations since, and his letters to the company and Colonel Clive, that he was very unwilling to part with his government; and that he greatly regrets the deprivation of it. He was necessitated, indeed, to submit; and in hopes of being redressed some time or other by the Company, judging that such a step could never be approved at home, he very wisely chose, rather than trust himself with his son-in-law, to wait patiently for that redress in safety at Calcutta. So far he might appear resigned to his fate; yet this can never be construed as an abdication of his government, though it has been industriously endeavoured to make the world look upon it in that light.

14. We have now, Honourable Sirs, laid before you a true account of the revolution. The projectors perhaps thought the advantages it was to bring the Company would be a sufficient atonement for the measure, and ensure them the approbation of their masters. It is true the Company have a considerable addition of territory, and do now receive a large yearly revenue; but as great, if not greater advantages might have been procured by more honorable means: and the present tranquil state of the country, which secures to the Company as well as the Nabob the full enjoyment of their revenues, is not the effect of Mir Cossim Chan's Nabobship, but of an event which would equally have happened, had Jaffier Aly Chan been continued on the Musnud, as can be easily made to appear.

15. Soon

15. Soon after Coffim Aly Chan was fixed in the Nabobfhip, the Company were nominally invefted with the Zamyndaries of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong: and only nominally; for our firft demands upon the two former of thefe, for the payment of the revenues, were refufed.

16. So bad an impreffion of us did the revolution create in the minds of the country people, that the Burdwan Rajah, who, in Jaffier Aly Chan's time, had often expreffed his earneft defire that the Company might continue to collect the revenues of his diftrict, as they had all along done, on account of the Tunckaws, and that they would procure the Zamyndarie for themfelves from the Nabob; yet after the breach of our faith to the old Nabob, concluding no reliance was to be placed in our engagements, he immediately flew off from his former declarations, and inftead of acquiefcing under our government, he began to act in open rebellion; he ftopped our trade, raifed a large force, invited the Marattas into his country, with-held the payment of his revenues, and acting in conjunction with the Beerboon Rajah, he efpoufed the caufe of the Shahzadah, with whom he entered into correfpondence.

17. Several other Zamyndars who had remained quiet whilft Jaffier Aly Chan was Nabob, now finding the government overfet, thought themfelves at liberty to withdraw their allegiance, and would not acknowledge Mir Caffim, but joined the Shahzadah; whofe party, by thefe frequent defections, was ftrengthened with fupplies both of troops and money, and whofe followers were greatly encouraged by his having been able to maintain his ground, and continue in our dominions the whole preceding campaign, in defiance of the Englifh army.

18. The

18. The Nabob's troops were rendered quite mutinous by the news of the revolution. They declared they knew nothing of Caſſim Aly Chan, and that now they had loſt their old maſter, they were without hopes of being paid any part of the immenſe arears due to them; and nothing leſs than the extraordinary aſſiduity and influence of Mr. Amyatt, who was then Chief at Patna, could have prevented them from proceeding to extremities.

19. In this ſituation were things when Col. Caillaud left Patna, and Major Carnac received the command of the army from him. The Major ſaw it was impoſſible for the country to ſupport itſelf againſt ſuch a combination of difficulties, and that if a deciſive blow was not ſoon ſtruck, the Shah could not fail to have immediate poſſeſſion of all. He therefore determined to bring the Prince to an action as ſpeedily as poſſible; and after ſecuring Patna by a garriſon, to prevent its being plundered by that rabble of troops whoſe duty it was to defend it, he puſhed on with the Engliſh army as faſt as he could towards the Prince. He came up with him three days march from the city, the conſequence of which brought on an action wherein he gained a compleat victory *, and reduced the Shah in a few days after to the neceſſity of putting himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh. The Major's ſucceſs, as it put an end to the hopes of all the rebellious Rajahs and Zamyndars, ſo it at once quelled all commotions, and eſtabliſhed the ſo long wiſhed for tranquillity in the country; and the different provinces were now brought into order, and rendered in a condition to pay their reſpective revenues; the Nabob's treaſury was enriched, and he was enabled to diſcharge the

* This battle was the moſt remarkable of any which has lately been fought in India, Plaſſy not excepted; and may even be compared to that of Alexander againſt Porus.

arrears of his army, and to advance the money he had engaged to pay the company.

20. Whatever merit there is then in the present tranquillity, is to be ascribed to our success against the Prince, which, by putting an end to the war in the country, reduced it to a state of perfect obedience. And as all the old Nabob's difficulties proceeded from his dominions being the seat of war, and the default of his revenues on that accout, there is not the least doubt, had our arms met with the same success during his government, but that he would have extricated himself with equal ease.

21. After what has been set forth, we believe few will imagine that Mir Jaffier was deposed by reason either of a want of ability to rule, or of his bad principles. We would willingly indeed suppose, that it proceeded rather from the want of a true knowledge of the country policy, and from an error of judgment, than from lucrative views, had not Mr. Vansittart, and others of the projectors, made no secret that there was a present promised them by Cassim Aly Chan of twenty lack: 'tis true, they make a merit that this was not to be delivered till the Company's debt was paid, and his army satisfied. We have to observe on this occasion, that several of us have had offers from the Nabob of very considerable sums to join in his measures, which we have constantly made publick, as well as refused; and if we, who have always opposed those measures, have been thus tried with pecuniary temptations, what may be concluded of those Gentlemen who have supported the Nabob on every occasion?

22. If the Nabob has purchased the power he is invested with, it is to be expected he will of course make the most of it, by extorting money from his subjects, and oppressing every province as much

as

as he can; and as the fate of Jaffier Aly Chan muſt have convinced him how little we regard the moſt ſacred engagements, he will of neceſſity endeavor to eſtabliſh himſelf on a foundation leſs precarious than the friendſhip of the Engliſh. That he already begins to do ſo, is evident from his ſtill increaſing the number of his troops (notwithſtanding the preſent tranquillity) and to render them the more formidable, he is arming and diſciplining as many Seapoys as he can procure, in the European manner: and to ſecure himſelf as much as poſſible from us, eſteeming his capital Morſhedabad (the ſcene of his predeceſſor's fall) too near our ſettlements, he is about erecting a large fort at Rajahmaul, which he propoſes to make his place of reſidence, where he hopes to be out of our reach.

23. When any Member of the Board ſuggeſts, that the Nabob's behaviour argues a ſuſpicion of us, for that if he really confided in, and ſincerely regarded us, he would not put himſelf to the unneceſſary expence of keeping ſo large an army in pay, nor treat ſo ill thoſe who are avowedly our friends; it is replied, "The Nabob is maſter "of his country; and being independent of us, is at liberty to rule "and act as he pleaſes." But ſurely Caſſim Aly Chan cannot be more ſo than his predeceſſor was: and if it be true that the Nabob of Bengal is independent of the Engliſh, and maſter of his own actions, how can the gentlemen juſtify their proceedings againſt Mir Jaffir, whom they called to ſo ſevere an account for the adminiſtration of his own government, as to depoſe him, tho' he had not been guilty of any offence to our nation, nor ever deviated from his treaty?

24. Inſtead of checking the overgrowing power of the preſent Nabob, it is daily promoted; and he has even the abſolute command of our army at Patna, the Chief there having directions to let

him have what number of our troops he pleafes to demand, without being allowed to judge of the nature of the fervice for which they are demanded. This you will obferve, Honourable Sirs, in the inftructions given to Mr. Ellis, dated the 22d September laft, and in the confultation of the fame day, where fome of our opinions on that procedure are entered. We cannot help expreffing how much we fear that an ill ufe will be made by him of this power over our forces, and that they will fooner or later be employed for fuch purpofes as will render us more odious to the whole country, bring greater difcredit upon our arms, and reflect farther difhonor upon our nation.

25. Notwithftanding this zealous attachment to Caffim Aly Chan, there can be no reafon to hope he will act the part of a faithful ally towards us. What dependance can be had on a perfon who fo readily entered into the fcheme of depofing not only his lawful mafter, but his patron under whofe immediate care he was brought up? who fhewed fo much difloyalty to his natural Sovereign*, the King of Indoftan, as to evade even acknowledging him, till he was in a manner obliged to it by our repeated defires? and who betrays a continual diftruft of thofe who have appeared any way attached to us?

26. The Nabob's undutiful behaviour to the King, proceeded in great meafure from his jealoufy of the regard we profeffed for him, and his fears that we fhould reduce his authority, by fubjecting the Subafhip to its primitive dependency on the Mogul, and obliging him to pay the royal revenues. He therefore fet every engine to work to create a rupture between us; he endeavoured to make the

* Formerly the Shazadah who was defeated by Major Carnac, in that famous battle near Patna, as related above, and who, on the death of his father, became King of Indoftan, and confequently Sovereign of Bengal, which is one of the provinces of his empire.

King

King uneaſy, and to inſtill notions into him of his being in danger from us, in order to get him out of the country. He excited a mutiny in the King's camp, which, had it not been for the timely aſſiſtance ſent by Major Carnac, might have proved fatal to his Majeſty. He repeatedly urged Mr. Vanſittart to diſmiſs him; and forged letters to himſelf and the Preſident, as from the King, complaining of being forcibly detained by the Major, and expreſſing his anxiety by not being allowed to leave the country. That theſe letters were forged, his Majeſty hath ſolemnly declared, by an atteſtation under his own hand; and teſtified his abhorrence of ſo infamous a proceeding. The Nabob, however, at laſt ſo far prevailed, by corruption and intriguing with ſome of the courtiers, as to bring about what he had ſo much at heart, the King's being ſent away without receiving any aſſiſtance from us, or being paid any part of the revenues of this Subaſhip. This rebellious behaviour of the Nabob juſtly incenſed the King, who declared that he would not ſuffer him to continue in his Subaſhip, whenever he had power ſufficient to prevent it.

27. His Majeſty, before his departure, gave the moſt unqueſtionable proof of his hatred to Coſſim Aly Chan, and of his eſteem for the Engliſh, by the voluntary offer he made them of the Dewanny of Bengal. This poſt is the collection of the revenues of all the provinces ſubject to the Nabob, which are to be accounted for with the court of Delhy. It differs from the Subadaree; the latter being the command of the troops, and the charge of the juriſdiction in the provinces, the expences whereof are paid out of the revenues by the Dewan. It was formerly a ſeparate office, but the Nabobs of Bengal, taking advantage of the late commotions in the empire, have aſſumed it to themſelves. From the nature of the office, it is evident that the king, diſtruſting the Nabob, intended that we

ſhould

ſhould be a check upon him, and be anſwerable for the revenues, no account of which he could get from Coſſim Aly Chan, who detained them for his own uſe. This appointment would have brought the Company about fifteen laacks yearly, excluſive of the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which his Majeſty alſo offered to confirm to them; and to eſtabliſh their intereſt and influence, not only in theſe provinces, but as far as the city of Delhy itſelf, to which place our commerce might then, with the utmoſt ſafety, have been extended.

28. It is hard to conceive why ſo honorable and advantageous an offer ſhould be rejected; it is alledged it would be the ſource of continual diſputes between us and the Nabob, and occaſion too great a diminution of his power; but ſurely this conſideration, admitting it to be true, ought not to ſtand in competition with the honor and intereſts of the Company, which would be greatly promoted by ſuch an appointment; what renders this refuſal the more extraordinary is, that it is well known application was made to the King, ſoon after Mr. Vanſittart's arrival, in Jaffier Aly Chan's time, for the ſunads or grants of the province of Bengal, which were actually drawn out to be ſent to us; but the revolution, in favour of Caſſim Aly Chan, taking place in the interim, an entire ſtop was put to the Negotiation.

29. The Nabob was ſo inveterate againſt all thoſe natives who were known to be in our intereſt, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail on Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, to conſent to his proceeding to the moſt unjuſtifiable ſeverities againſt them, particularly againſt Rajah Ramnarain, having offered the Colonel five Laack of Rupees, provided he would concur in the deſtruction of that unhappy man, who has ſince been given up to him by the board. The

Colonel's refuſal of this money, we are well convinced, was the motive of his (the Nabob's) unjuſt ſuſpicion and reſentment againſt him, which appears not only by the Colonel's Letters on the face of the proceedings of the board, but alſo by Coſſim Aly Chan's own declaration to him, that he could not be his friend unleſs he received his preſent.

30. The ſame ſpirit of reſentment, which actuated the Nabob againſt Colonel Coote, was equally ſtrong againſt Major Carnac, whom he alſo endeavoured to buy over to ſerve his ends but in vain. The Nabob ſaw, with a jealous eye, the many diſtinguiſhing marks of favor the King conferred on him, and would fain have made a breach between them, which not being able to effect, he wrote ſeveral letters of complaint againſt him to the Preſident, who from prejudice was too much inclined to believe them, and ſought all opportunities of blaming his conduct at the board, and of putting the worſt conſtruction upon all his endeavours, for the publick ſervice of which many inſtances could be produced.

31. A flagrant injuſtice was done Major Carnac in calling him away from Patna, when the detachment ſtill left there, was large enough to render the command adequate to his rank, and where he might have been of ſervice: whereas his preſence was unneceſſary at Calcutta, as the Colonel was going down.

32. A very ſignal inſult offered by Caſſim Aly Chan to the Engliſh nation, was the intercepting, by his order, a letter which Major Carnac, when commanding the army, had wrote to the King, which the Nabob opened and ſent to the Preſident. This letter, with others from the Nabob, was minuted in conſultation of the 5th of Auguſt, and it was inſinuated to contain proof of a plot, con-

certed between the Colonel, Major, Ramnarain and Shitabray, to create a fresh revolution. Much pains were taken to find out mysterious meanings in the letter, and hints were thrown out to prepossess the board, that such a combination was actually on foot; however, after the closest scrutiny into the letter, and the strictest examination of Shitabray, who was called down from Patna for that purpose, the board gave it unanimously as their opinion, that there were not the least grounds to suppose any such combination, the ridicule whereof was so conspicuous, that we do not imagine even those who so seriously promoted the enquiry could ever have believed it.

33. The material part of this letter related to an application, which the Major (by Colonel Coote's directions) made to the King, to be put in possession of some fort in Shuja Dowlah's country upon the Ganges; which, had our troops attended his Majesty, as we must have marched through Shuja Dowla's territories, would have been absolutely necessary for a place of arms, and to keep up our communication. The stopping such a letter, or indeed any one from a person in so public a character as the Major then was, might be of the most fatal consequence, was also a public affront, and one that never was before offered by any Nabob: yet no satisfaction has ever been obtained from him, although wrote to publickly on that head.

34. You will now, Honble Sirs, be able to compare the present with the preceding government. So momentous a step as subverting the former one, we conceive, ought not to have been undertaken till after the most mature deliberation, and from a thorough knowledge of the country, its connections and interests. But this was far from being the case. Mr. Vansittart had only been three months in

 Bengal,

Bengal, and in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time can hardly be ſuppoſed to have acquired ſo perfect a knowledge of matters as to be able to determine, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to annul a treaty which had been ratified, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by Admiral Watſon, and Colonel Clive, together with a regularly-authorized ſelect Committee, guarantied by the credit of the Company, and the honour of the nation.

35. The gentlemen, who were the promoters of this revolution, have coincided remarkably in each others opinion during the laſt year's conſultations: in return, the Preſident has not failed to ſhew them partiality, of which we will give you a remarkable inſtance: notwithſtanding, in your letter to this preſidency, dated 21 Jan. 1761, you were pleaſed, in the moſt poſitive terms, to order the diſmiſſion of Meſſieurs Sumner, Playdell and Mac Guire; yet, on the 10th of Auguſt, when, in conſequence of Mr. Mac Guire's diſmiſſion, Mr. Ellis was appointed chief at Patna, Mr. Vanſittart propoſed in Council, that Mr. Mac Guire ſhould remain in the chief-ſhip till Mr. Ellis's arrival, which could not be effected in leſs than two months. The queſtion was abſolutely put to the Board, but carried in the negative; the other gentlemen not chuſing to be guilty of ſo glaring a deviation from their maſters' orders: and at Mr. Vanſittart's deſire, this propoſal of his own was not entered on the face of that conſultation. Here it will be neceſſary alſo to obſerve, that Mr. Holwell, after the Honble Company had ſhewn him ſo plain a mark of their diſpleaſure, as to remove him from the Chair to ſeventh in council, at firſt wavered, whether to continue in the ſervice or not, till (as he declared) he had a private conference with Mr. Vanſittart; after which he remained in both council and ſelect committee till the very day on which Mr. Vanſittart took

leave

leave of the Board, to proceed to Morſhedabad, in order to execute the plan which had been formed; and then Mr. Holwell reſigned.

36. The Armenian miniſters of the revolution, Cojah Petruce and Kojah Gregory, are in the higheſt degree of favour with the Nabob and his adherents; the former reſides in Calcutta, retained by Coſſim Aly Chan, a known ſpy upon every tranſaction of the Engliſh, of which he never fails to give his maſter the moſt regular intelligence, as was too apparent to both Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of theſe Armenians has poſts of the greateſt truſt near the Nabob's perſon; and through the means of theſe men, the Armenians in general are ſetting up an independant footing in the country, are carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our inveſtments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no ſmall odium on the Engliſh, who are ſuppoſed to encourage their proceedings.

37. It is this ſyſtem of adminiſtration which we have conſtantly oppoſed, as thinking your affairs could not poſſibly proſper under it. And you will now be able to account for many differences at the Board, which will appear through the courſe of our conſultations, and which will doubtleſs ſurprize you till the real cauſe is known; As we have hitherto denied our aſſents to meaſures becauſe we deemed them contrary to your intereſts, though the adopting them would have turned out greatly to our private emoluments; ſo you may reſt aſſured it ſhall ever continue an invariable maxim with us, to make your honour and advantage the ſole object of our attention.

38. You have been acquainted, Honourable Sirs, that the King has applied for your aſſiſtance, to ſettle him on the throne, and to recover ſuch parts of his territories as are ſtill in the hands of rebels.

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It is our opinion, that we have troops enough to form an army for the enterprize; and as we have no European enemy to fear, the forces requiſite for this ſervice can without danger be ſpared. The Nabob's large army, which is now a burthen upon the provinces, and only kept up to ſcreen him from the King's Power, and through his jealouſy of us, would afford a conſiderable addition, and at the ſame time eaſe the country of an immenſe expence. Shujah Dowlat, one of the moſt powerful men of the empire, would join with his forces; beſides many other conſiderable powers, friends to the King, from different parts, would flock to the royal ſtandard, ſhould we ever take the field; and our army moſt probably (as the King himſelf has frequently declared) would march to the gates of Delhy without oppoſition. We moſt humbly ſubmit to you, whether ſo glorious an opportunity of aggrandizing the Company in Indoſtan ſhould not be embraced; and leave it to yourſelves to judge the reputation and advantages which would reſult to them, if through the means of the Britiſh arms, his Majeſty ſhould be eſtabliſhed on his throne. For want of our aid, he is now actually at a ſtand, and unable to proſecute his journey to his capital.

But ſhould you be unwilling to extend your connections further up the country, and inſtead of accepting the Dewanny of Bengal, chooſe to confine your views to your new acquiſitions, and to the trade of Bengal alone, we beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that we ought to maintain an intereſt in the country, independent of the Nabob, by ſupporting in power ſuch men as have proved themſelves our friends: This will ſerve as a balance againſt him, ſhould he entertain evil deſigns againſt us.

40. We have now given you a fair relation of things, and, conſcious of the goodneſs of our intentions, we cannot but flatter ourſelves,

ſelves, we ſhall meet with your approbation in the part we have taken. We ſhall therefore conclude with the aſſurance, that our endeavours ſhall never be wanting to promote the honour and intereſts of our Employers, their ſucceſs being the object of our moſt fervent wiſhes.

We are, with the greateſt reſpect,

Honoured Sirs,

Your moſt faithful

And dutiful Servants,

FORT WILLIAM,
11th March, 1762.

(Signed)

EYRE COOTE,
P. AMYATT.
JOHN CARNAC.
W. ELLIS.
S. BATSON.
H. VERELST.